

THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER.

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BAYLUS CADE, EDITOR.
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Raleigh, N. C.

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RALEIGH, N. C., MARCH 17, 1891.

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The Progressive Farmer is the Official Organ of the N. C. Farmers' State Alliance

Do you want your paper changed to another office? State the one at which you have been getting it.

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Our friends in writing to any of our advertisers will favor us by mentioning the fact that they saw the advertisement in THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER.

The date on your label tells you when your time is out.

Send us two new subscribers and get a copy of the ALLIANCE GRAND MARCH, by Prof. J. C. Mears. It is beautiful. Be sure and get it.

In our item on the Railroad Commission, on our first page, we wrote of Major Wilson, incorruptible as Cato. The types make us say incompatible as Cato.

HON. W. A. B. BRANCH, Congressman-elect from the First district, and a prominent Allianceman, gave this office a very pleasant call the other day. We think the interests of his people are safe in his hands.

REV. DR. ATKINSON, who spent many years of his life as pastor of Presbyterian churches in this city, died suddenly in Warrenton on the 6th inst. Dr. Atkinson was a ripe scholar, a good preacher, a most laborious and faithful pastor, an Israelite in whom was no guile. A friend has promised to write for our columns some account of Dr. Atkinson's long life and labors.

THE "Possum Law," like all other great reforms, will have to await the coming of more patriotic men and more enlightened times. In the meantime its author and friend may consider himself as ahead of his times and generation, even as Bruno and Copernicus were ahead of theirs. The time will come when the "possum" will be recognized by a North Carolina legislature as having some rights that are to be respected by an enlightened and high-minded civilization. Revolutions never go backward.

We desire to urge upon our brethren to attend the meetings of brother Ben. Terrell. We need to become thoroughly rooted and grounded in Alliance principles. And this can be done in no other way so easily as by attendance upon the meetings of Ben. Terrell. Brother Terrell is one of the foremost lecturers in this country; and if our people fail to hear him, they will thus miss the opportunity of a lifetime. We most earnestly urge all our people to attend Ben. Terrell's meetings.

THE Legislature of Illinois has elected General John M. Palmer to the Senate of the United States. Mr. Palmer is a Democrat. But in an interview subsequent to his election he put himself upon record as favoring the abolition of the national banks. And it is understood that he stands square upon most of the issues presented by the Farmers' Alliance. We care little what political organization a man belongs to, if he is honestly in favor of our just demands for reform. We shall count John M. Palmer as standing with us in favor of most of the things which we as reformers demand, and we shall so count him with pleasure.

Be sure to get one of our premiums for two new subscribers.

THERE has been a good deal said during the last two or three hundred years about the exclusive character of English society. And it has been the ambition of certain families in this country whose founders dealt in soap-fats, and pelts, and gen seng, and one thing and another, to capture that same exclusive English society. Well, several American families have gone to London to make the capture. We think it no discredit to these families that they had humble origins. But what we do think discreditable in a very high degree is their snobbish

fondness for capturing swart English society people. If the most extensive lying has not been done about them, it is true that many of these swart English society people are not morally fit to associate with their own game-keepers. The Prince of Wales himself is not clear of some very ugly tales that have, from time to time, found their way to the public ear. It makes us sick to see men and women, who ought to have good sense and some little republican independence, bowing down to the characterless snobs of English high life, so called.

OUR CIRCULATION.

According to statistics compiled from the American Newspaper Directory, 1890, there were 17,760 newspapers published in the United States and Canada, with an average circulation per issue of 2,335.

The circulation of THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER is now 18,240 per issue, or about eight times that of the average American newspaper.

Coming nearer home we find that in the three States, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, there were 532 newspapers with an average circulation per issue 946. Comparing the circulation of THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER—18,240—with this we find our circulation larger than the combined circulation of 19 of the average papers in these three States.

Let us come home to our own State and strike a comparison. In North Carolina there are 192 newspapers with an average circulation per issue of 871, and you will find 18,240, the circulation of THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER, is about equal to the combined circulations of (21) twenty-one of the average newspapers in the State. If you drop THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER from the list you will find the average circulation of the other 191 papers to be 780 per issue, while that of THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER is 18,240, or very nearly (23) twenty-three and one-half times the average of all the other papers in North Carolina. More than (4) one-eighth of the single issue circulation of all other papers in the State combined.

We are not offering either the song or the march for renewals. We are offering them for NEW subscribers only.

WHAT DOES THE ALLIANCE MOVEMENT MEAN?

The above question is attracting much attention in this country just now. While we do not speak with authority as to the meaning of this movement, there are some meanings upon the very surface of it, to which we wish to invite the thoughtful reader's attention.

It means, first of all, that the people in this country have profited by the common schools, and by the newspapers, and by books—that the sum of intelligence in this country has greatly increased in recent years. There has been no general movement in either ancient or modern times, that we know of, that was so directly and essentially due to the increase of intelligence as the one now going forward. This fact is amply shown by the employment of the machinery of intelligence in the propagation of the movement. This agitation is above all others an agitation that employs the printed page in carrying itself forward. There is no cry for destruction, as in the French Revolution. There are no attempts making to lash the people into phrenzy. The appeal is invariably to discussion. Come, let us reason together about the things that promise the greatest good to the greatest number. This appeal is pre-eminently the appeal of calm intelligence; and declares as plainly as possible that "we know what we want, and we are competent to discuss it before the open court of public opinion." This movement means that the common school and the newspaper and the book have done effective work in informing the public judgment, and in enlightening the public conscience, and in quickening the public aspiration.

This movement means that the people understand, as they never understood before, that their sires fought and conquered upon fields of Revolutionary fame, to make freemen of their children to the latest generation. Until recently the conditions in this country were so favorable to freedom that the people scarcely knew what freedom was. But since changed conditions have come about, and the haughty autocrats of an essentially tyrannical and insolent industrial and commercial system have seemed to threaten the freedom of any class of our people, it becomes apparent that the masses of our population know they are, "and of right ought to be," freemen. This movement shows that neither the spirit of freedom, nor the consciousness of freedom, has perished from the land.

This movement means that the utmost economy, compatible with the simple dignity of our democratic institutions, shall be observed and carried out in all the departments of the Na-

tional and State administrations. The public expenditure contemplated by the present movement of the people shall be made simply for the good of the entire country, and shall cease whenever a further extension of it shall not be known to be for the public good. The day of extravagant outlay for public buildings in small and unimportant towns, the day of national appropriations for creeks and streams, not navigable for canoes, the day of appropriations to subsidize private enterprises, the day of the taxation of the many for the benefit of the few, will speedily come if the movement now going forward shall be true to the instinct which called it into being, and to the manly intelligence that has guided it thus far.

This movement means that the people are about to take matters into their own hands. For many years the country has been governed by the professional politicians—by men who have made politics to be a trade, and have changed the service of their constituents into a disgraceful scramble for place and pelf. There are few men in public life to-day who have not at their backs a horde of pimps and parasites, who lay wires, pull dirty ropes, use corruption funds and yell themselves hoarse in applying the epithets of billingsgate and profanity to, emphasize the greatness of the particular scoundrel they have set up for the suffrages of freemen. These leopards gentry must go to the rear, if this movement of the people has not been read amiss by this present writer. The great masses of the virtuous and intelligent people of this country have reached the conclusion that the immortal words of Mr. Lincoln, "this is a government of the people, by the people and for the people," contain an essential and enduring truth; and they mean to take matters into their own hands and give it application and efficiency.

RALEIGH, N. C., Feb. 26, '91.

MY DEAR SIR:—I send by this mail a copy of a bulletin just issued by the Experiment Station on the "Best Agricultural Grasses" suitable for North Carolina. It is a work of 100 pages, illustrated by 74 figures showing grasses and clovers, of which 26 are full page. Different formulas for grass mixtures are given suitable to various soils in the State.

The Station has been at very great expense to procure the cuts and to print this bulletin, but it believes that the subject is of such interest and importance as to compensate for the great cost of publication. Expecting a larger edition than usual is issued.

The subject of grass culture should be of great importance to the farmers of the State. For, by it they will be enabled to grow stock, the manure from stock when carefully saved will, in turn, be of greatest benefit in fertilizing the land for further cultivation, thereby constantly improving the soil and with less cost for fertilizers.

Very cordially,
DIRECTOR.

Send us two new names and \$2 and we will send you the Alliance Grand March, by Prof. Mears.

GOLDSBORO, N. C., Mar. 3, '91.

MR. EDITOR:—Bro. Ben. Terrell made speeches at New Bern on Monday last. Many Alliancemen and others were misled by the local press saying he would speak in the Fair grounds, whereas his appointment was in the court house, and he did his speaking there to a comparatively small crowd. It was unfortunate to the Alliance but perhaps paying to the Fair to have people go into the Fair that day expecting to hear Ben. Terrell.

At Snow Hill the Alliance orator of the Lone Star State was very handsomely introduced by young brother Darden, son of the lamented W. A. Darden, who fell at his post in Gatesville. Young Darden is a worthy son of a noble sire. The court house was full of people. Greene county furnished a fine set of upturned faces to the distinguished speaker who held their closest attention with his peculiarly plain and powerful arguments in defense of the right of the farmers and laborers of this country. For more than two hours he taught the truth to that audience and showed clearly that the merchants and business men of the country will be benefited by the success of the farmer, and that the Farmers' Alliance is not at all in opposition to the interests of the merchant.

At Greenville, Pitt county, Bro. Terrell spoke for the same length of time to a smaller audience, owing to the very inclement weather and the Fair at New Bern.

The next day at Wilson he surpassed himself in the earnest, powerful, eloquent portrayal of the wrongs of the money kings against the producers. The merchant, lawyer, banker and the general public outside of the Alliance heard the reasons for our organization

kindly, fairly and fully stated, which allayed and cured much if not all the prejudice against the order.

On Saturday, the 28th ult., the grand county of Wayne had a good attendance of her farmers and men of affairs in the court house to hear our eminent apostle of the Alliance declare the financial and political gospel of salvation to the masses of American citizenship. Here I part company reluctantly with our gifted brother and commend him to the attention of all where he may go and bespeak for him a hearing from all Alliance people, business men and all outside the order, feeling confident they will all be instructed, benefited and pleased.

Fraternally,
F. S. BLAIR.

We again call attention to the Alliance song, Clasp Hands, and dedicated to Mrs. Ben Terrell, which we are offering as a premium for two new subscribers.

COL. POLK IN WADESBORO.

Col. L. L. Polk, President of the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, spoke in Wadesboro, his native town, Feb. 24th. We take from the Messenger of that place the following synopsis of his address:

I stand up here before my people and tell you the truth. You have been humbugged long enough; you have been taffied long enough. I have traversed this country from one end to the other. I have looked upon its great cities, its magnificent rivers, its busy hives of industry, but when I stand in the presence of the honest yeomanry, the great middle classes of our country, who are the palladium of our liberties, who pay 80 cents of every dollar of taxes collected, who clothe the world; the men without whom our ships would rot at their docks; the men without whom Jay Gould, with all his boasted millions, would starve, I forget all this and remember that the glory of this country rests, at least, in the hands of this people. The questions which confront our country at this time require the sternest statesmanship, the purest patriotism, to solve. These conditions which exist to-day show that things are out of balance. When, in the memory of the oldest inhabitant of this country, were manufacturing enterprises in a more flourishing condition? Never. When was the growth and prosperity of railroads greater than now? Never. At what time in our history was the growth of cities and towns greater? Never. When, in all your long life, did agriculture languish so? Never.

In 1850 the farmers of this country owned 70 per cent. of the wealth of the country, and paid 85 per cent. of all the taxes; in 1880 they owned only one-third of the wealth of the country, but still paid 80 per cent. of the taxes. In 1880 the total wealth of the country was forty-three billion dollars, and of this sum taxes were paid on only twenty-six billion dollars, and of this amount fourteen billion belonged to the farmers of the country. I was approached on the streets of Raleigh last week by three members of the Legislature who asked me what they must do about voting an appropriation to the Agricultural and Mechanical College. They said that the tax would have to be increased if so many appropriations were made, and they did not know what to do about it. I told them to go back and introduce a bill in the Legislature that will unearth the hidden property in North Carolina and make it bear its just share of the burdens of the government, and then the needed appropriations cannot only be made, but taxes reduced at the same time. Put a seal into the hands of tax assessors, and let these men who own the mortgages and notes bring them to him, and let him stamp upon their face the word "assessed," and unless they are so stamped make them uncollectable by law. I am sick and tired of seeing the farmers carrying the burden of this country. Would to God that we had a Congress and a Legislature that would do them justice.

What we need is more money to transact our business. Political doctors will tell you that money will buy more now than ever before, and ask what are you farmers growing about anyhow? Others say your laziness, extravagance and improvidence has brought you to your present condition, but I say no class of men work so hard, or live so hard as the farmer. Mr. Dodge, the statistician at Washington, says agricultural depression is caused by a lack of diversification. Mr. Morrill, the father of the Senate, says the trouble is over-production, but I say there is no over-production as long as there is a single cry for bread. It is not over-production that is causing the trouble, but under-consumption.

One man tells us that the farmers are to blame, another that God is to blame, but the real trouble is that we are groaning under the most unjust financial system the world has ever seen. Negro supremacy, bloody shirt, the

tariff are all shouted in our ears to keep us off of the real reason, the money question. I am not afraid that a negro will ever rule over L. L. Polk. A financial system has been imposed upon this country the most wicked that was ever devised by the brain of man. If not changed it will make us a country of millionaires and paupers, and neither millionaires nor paupers are friends of civil liberty. The great middle classes are being wiped out. The people of this country have arisen in their might and sworn that the government shall be administered in the interest of the many.

Millionaires are very common now. The Senate is composed of 84 members and 46 of them are millionaires. Thirty-one thousand people own over half the wealth of this country. They did not get it honestly and fairly; they can't do it. (A voice from the audience, "they got it by robbery.")

We have organized in this country for self-protection—nothing more, nothing less. There were some, when the Alliance was first organized, both in it and out of it, who thought that it was intended to make war on the merchants and professional men. There is not a sensible man in this country who does not know that the merchant and the farmer are in the same boat. If one goes down the other goes down too. I want to say a word about lawyers. I have been misinterpreted on this question. God knows I have no prejudice against any one engaged honestly and legitimately in any profession or calling. Some of the greatest patriots in all history were lawyers, but there are some little ones who imagine that their profession contains all the brains.

I want to say something to you, farmers. There are 300 lawyers and only 13 farmers in Congress. Somebody ought to growl and complain; yes, somebody ought to have a whipping. Who's to blame? (A voice from the crowd, "we all.")

There has never been a period in our history when the masses have devoted themselves to study as they have during the past thirty months. I want to say to the man who does not study the great questions of the day that he is going to get left.

They tell us we ought not to go into politics. Let me tell you officially—not in my capacity as an individual, but as an official—this farmers' organization is as full of politics as an egg is of meat. What are we to do if we are not allowed to go into politics? Pay your taxes and vote as you are told, is the answer you get.

There is a difference in politics and partyism. Politics is the science of government, and I charge you to study politics. Partyism is a collar around the neck with a brass chain fastened to it.

"But," they cry, "can't you buy more now than ever before with a dollar?" But where is the dollar? Where's the dollar you can buy so much with? That's what we are quarrelling about. But that's not the question. It's not the purchasing power of the dollar, but the debt-paying power that we are concerned about. Does it pay any more taxes? Does it pay any more interest on your notes and mortgages? What's the matter? The contraction of the currency has placed the power of controlling the money in the hands of the plutocrats to the crushing of the masses. We all remember when the circulation was \$51 per capita, and we want a Congress that will give us that amount again. If the present Congress won't do it, we will elect one that will.

We believe, as an organization, that we ought to have an open field and a fair chance, and we intend to have it. We went to Congress and asked for relief. The Sub-Treasury bill was presented to Congress and nearly scared them to death. How did they treat us? They were the most say-nothing set I ever saw. Finally one prominent politician poked his head up above the waves and said, "Your bill is unconstitutional." The next week another one did the same thing, and so on through the whole list. No two of those deliverances were made in the same week. I do not say that this was a preconcerted arrangement, but, to say the least of it, it was certainly a beautiful coincidence. Not one of them attempted to prove its unconstitutionality. They expected you to believe it unconstitutional because they said so. When you finally pin them down, they say it is unconstitutional because the government has no right to lend money. Is that so? Let us see. In 1876 Congress appropriated \$1,500,000 to the Philadelphia Centennial. When the Government demanded the return of the money, its payment was resisted on the ground that it was simply an appropriation and not in the nature of a loan. The case was carried to the Supreme Court of the United States and it was there decided that the advance was a loan, and therefore must be repaid. In 1884 the Exposition of New Orleans asked for a loan of \$1,000,000, and the constitutionality

of the bill was so plain that it passed the Senate by a unanimous vote. And you voted for this bill in the House! Hon. Walter L. Steele, of Richmond county, did, for one, and Hon. Riden Tyler Bennett, of Wadesboro, whom I regard as the equal of any man in North Carolina as a constitutional lawyer, did, for another.

Is it unconstitutional for the Government to loan money? Yes—when it is proposed to loan it to the farmers, but it is all right to lend it to 319 National banks at 1 per cent. per annum. It is perfectly constitutional to store whiskey, but awfully unconstitutional to store bread and clothes.

The Government is nothing but the agent of the people. I don't believe the Government has any more right to refuse to issue money to the people than it has to come here and put me in your jail to-day.

"But," they say to us, "your bill is impracticable." Well, suppose it is; it is only so in its details, and you are paid to make it practicable. You say it is unconstitutional; it is your duty to fix it.

The passage of the Sub-Treasury bill was petitioned for by over 60,000 men. What has become of the bill and the petitions? They sleep the sleep of death in the pigeon hole of the committee to which they were referred. The place hereafter to put your petitions is in the ballot box. They will be heard there.

They admit we need relief, but what have they done? The silver bill was passed in the Senate and we felt good, thinking it would certainly pass the House on a direct vote. But it now sleeps the sleep of legislative death, and your best chance of relief from this Congress is gone. And Mr. Cleveland, one of the great leaders of the National Democracy, stands over its grave and does not shed a tear, but smiles at its downfall.

This Congress has not passed a single bill in the interest of the people. What are we to do? They say we must not go into politics. I believe I am doing God's work in advocating the principles of this order, and I have consecrated all that I am, and all that I ever expect to be, to this great work.

One of the great things to be accomplished by this organization is the wiping out of every semblance of Mason and Dixon's line in Alliance territory. Let me make you a prediction; let me tell you what I believe. You may see a third party in this country, but it will not be for long. The masses of the Northwestern States, the Southern States and the Western States will be arrayed on one side, and on the other will stand the plutocrats and monopolists of the Northern and Eastern States. There will be but two parties—the people against the plutocrats. The contest is coming, and I say let it come. I believe we have God and right on our side.

Now, my friends, do not be frightened about this political question. Sectionalism has been an issue for the past 25 years, but the decree of God has gone forth that we are one people. I want to say that the political cyclone is gathering, and will sweep this country in 1892.

Relief must come from the National Legislature. To get it the personnel of that body will have to be largely changed. These are plain words, but they are true words.

Our order was never in a more prosperous condition. By 1892 we will control, together with organizations associated with us, between five and six million votes. What is it we can not do?

HOPEWELL, N. C., Mar. 2, '91.

The following resolutions were adopted at a meeting of Hopewell Alliance, No. 331, Mecklenburg county, held Feb. 28, 1891:

Resolved, That this Alliance is in full agreement with resolutions passed by Derita Alliance and published in the Charlotte Democrat, of Feb. 13, and in THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER, condemnatory of the views and votes of Mecklenburg's Senator and Representatives on the 6 per cent. interest bill.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Alliance that they have misrepresented both the views and the interests of the farmers of the country, in casting their votes against the reduction of interest.

The first aim of the reform movement was and is to accomplish that result—cheap money. The money power has robbed the people of their substance. It has fastened upon them the most vicious and ruinous system of mortgage foreclosure that ever robbed a people of their sacred homes. The introduction of the 6 per cent. interest bill has had one good effect—it demonstrated where the monied representatives stood, and where the people's representatives stood. We now know which way the cat jumps. This conflict now going on has arranged on the one side the monied lords; on the other the people. Choose you this day which you will serve.

Resolved, That the Secretary send these resolutions to THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER and Charlotte Democrat with request to publish.

Fraternally,
R. S. BARNETT, Sec'y.